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SOURCE Liaoning Jih-pao (Liaoning Daily), No 492, 1948. (Information requested.)POLICIES OF THE INNER MONGOLIA AUTONOMOUS GOVERNMENT

The following is a condensed version of a lengthy speech delivered at a conference of Inner Mongolian administrative personnel on 3 August 1948 by Kao Kang, a prominent member of the Chinese Communist Party. In his opening remarks, Kao refers to a comprehensive report previously given to the conference by Yun Che, chairman of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Government. Kao indicated complete agreement of the Northeast Bureau with the report.

Inner Mongolia's Road to Freedom and Racial Policy

The CCP has declared one of its chief tenets to be the complete equality of all peoples, has recognized the rights of self-government and self-determination, and has followed the principle of aiding minorities in their liberation and development. Accordingly, the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Government has come into existence. Within Inner Mongolia, the various leagues and banners also established local autonomous governments as they were liberated. Because of the present war, many leagues and banners have temporarily entrusted themselves to the control of other local governments of the liberated areas, but strengthening of unification by the Autonomous Government will certainly take place as the situation changes.

According to Mao Tse-tung, after all of China has been liberated, a China Federation of Democratic Republics will be established by the various peoples of China. The Inner Mongolia Autonomous Government will form an important part of that federation. In her present stage of development, Inner Mongolia depends on outside sources, such as China, Russia and Outer Mongolia, and cannot dissociate herself from her friendly neighbors. If Inner Mongolia does not strive to emulate the Chinese, the term "racial equality" has no meaning. As long as Inner Mongolia remains economically dependent, she will remain a political dependent and true liberation will not have been achieved. Until cultural and economic levels are raised, Inner Mongolia will have the form but not the substance of racial equality.

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Inner Mongolia's Present Activities

With regard to the present situation, Inner Mongolia can claim great accomplishments, but still lacks a solid foundation. An autonomous government uniting eastern and western Inner Mongolia for the first time in the past few hundred years is one milestone. Others are the training of 3,000 administrators, the training of several thousand intellectuals, and the development of 4,000 Party members and several thousand youth-group members. In addition, land reform has been put into effect in agricultural areas, and in pastoral areas various reforms are also being introduced. The traditional enmity between Chinese and Mongols is gradually being eliminated.

Much still remains to be done, however. The masses are deficient in their political consciousness and their organizational inclinations, activities in agricultural and pastoral areas are slipshod, deviations and local disorders still exist, the abilities of many administrators are inadequate, there is a need for more specialists and technicians, and enemies of Inner Mongolia still exist within and without the area. American imperialists, KMT reactionaries, and Mongolian traitors still exist in Inner Mongolia. Like the Japanese, they regard the area as the front line against the Soviet Union. They have established espionage units near the border which plan to utilize Mongolian shortcomings and defects to further their own schemes. One must orient administrative personnel and the people to be on guard against such plots.

Immediate Policies of the Inner Mongolian Party

A good job has been done on behalf of the people of Inner Mongolia, but serious leftist deviations have been noted during the 2-month period of the equitable distribution of land movement. Pastoral and semipastoral areas were also subject to the equal distribution policy [private herds cannot be distributed under CCP policy]. Industrial and commercial establishments were violated, many innocent people were regarded as traitors and killed, places of worship were razed, holy texts were burned, and lamas often beaten. Many comrades attempt to change things over night in this way. Such methods are referred to by Stalin as "immediate communization," and there is no regard for the public interest. Marxism and Maoism teach us that the application of policies must be governed by the existing situation and must proceed one step at a time. Otherwise good intentions may come to naught and former precepts of the masses will not be relinquished.

The main points in the basic policy which should be adopted in the present stage of the Inner Mongolian revolution are as follows:

1. Recognition of all agricultural and pastoral land in Inner Mongolia as owned by the people of Inner Mongolia, and abolition of the feudal system of ownership of such lands.
2. Abolition of all special rights of the feudalistic classes, such as public responsibilities, forced conscription of labor, private purchase of public lands, etc., and emancipation of all slaves.
3. Repudiation of all debts owed to landlords, nobles, and usurers by poor farmers and herdsmen. All debts contracted between hired hands, poor and middle farmers, or in commercial transactions, however, must be honored.

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4. In agricultural areas, tillers should own their own land. Land originally possessed by landlords and temples should all revert to public ownership and be distributed among Chinese and Mongols who have no land or only small amounts of land.
5. Improvement of the livelihoods of people in pastoral areas and development of their herds.
6. Development of partially agricultural, partially pastoral areas, and improvement of the livelihoods of both poor farmers and herdsmen.
7. Mongols and Chinese should bear equal civic responsibilities and duties.
8. Religious freedom for Mongolians. Lamas should not be permitted special rights beyond citizenship.
9. Strengthening of Mongol and Chinese unity and complete equality among Mongols, Chinese, and other races.

In addition, other policies should be adopted according to varying conditions in different areas. Traitors should not be allowed to join in land distribution; land of small landlords acquired by grants from nobles for services rendered should not be confiscated, nor should their other property; land and property of rich farmers, except for tyrants or very rich farmers, should not be molested, although that land already distributed should remain according to the present situation; land may be distributed to middle farmers, but none may be taken away.

In partially agricultural, partially pastoral areas where agriculture predominates, agricultural land and farm animals of great landlords should be equitably distributed, but herds should not. Small landlords and rich farmers should not be molested. In such areas where herdsmen predominate, the farm animals of great herd owners should be distributed among the farmers, but there must be a sharp distinction drawn between farm animals and herd animals; the latter should not be subject to distribution. The land, animals, and property of individual Mongolian traitors and tyrants may be confiscated on the approval of the league or higher government and the land distributed to farmers or herdsmen willing to till the soil. The economic development of areas which are both agricultural and pastoral should depend on natural conditions and the wishes of the masses.

#### Strengthening Mongol-Chinese Unity

One of the great questions facing Inner Mongolia, on which the solution to many problems is dependent, is the relationship between Chinese and Mongol administrators. Involved also are new cadre members and ones of the former regime (many former Chinese cadres exist in a few leagues and banners). It is easy for some Chinese to feel that they are members of a favored race, or to belittle or be mistrustful of new Mongol cadres because of their lack of experience. There have also been instances of discrimination in the distribution of land and in the armed forces. These deviations represent the remnants of the principle of Chinese racial superiority, to a certain extent the result of a guestlike feeling on the part of those who come from the liberated areas to take up duties in Mongolia. It must be emphasized that the Party exists to serve all the people and makes no racial differentiations. Deviation from this policy is a serious matter which should be actively checked.

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Future Activities

1. At present, there is to be no further expansion of the armed forces. The principal duties of the Inner Mongolia Liberation Army now are to concentrate on political activities, class education, education in military discipline and military affairs, etc., so as to form a seasoned force devoted to the interests of Inner Mongolia.

2. A Party school is to be established to indoctrinate cadres in Party policies and doctrines.

3. Economic reconstruction in all its phases is to be accentuated.

Since three-fourths of the population of Inner Mongolia is agricultural or partially agricultural and partially pastoral, the quality of the armed forces should be raised in every manner possible. In addition to attending the Inner Mongolia College of Military Administration, officers should also attend short-term training classes, especially those for industrial and agricultural cadres.

Emphasis should be placed on developing agriculture to increase production and raising Mongolian farmers' technical capabilities to the level of the Chinese. Care must be given to animal breeding, equitable trade between Mongols and Chinese, and development of cooperatives. The government should purchase commercial products of the Mongols and Chinese to eliminate gradually the middlemen's exploitation of unscrupulous parties among the private Chinese merchants. Local handicraft industries and factories should be fostered.

4. Cultural and educational reconstruction is also to be strengthened. Emphasis should be laid on utilizing both written and spoken Mongolian. The tendency to minimize the Mongolian language should be combated. Medical training is an important part of the reconstruction.

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